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A NEW MAYA HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

By RALPH L. ROYS

NEW light is cast on one of the most important episodes of Maya history, namely the overthrow of Chac Xib Chac and the conquest of Chichen Itza by Hunnac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, by a passage in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel which appears to have escaped notice up to the present time.

At this time the Itzas had been in Yucatan for several hundred years. They had settled in Chichen Itza, had moved away to Chakanputun and had returned to Chichen Itza and established themselves as a great power in Yucatan. The Tutul Xius, later arrivals, had founded Uxmal, and about the year 1000 A.D. the cities of Chichen Itza, Uxmal, and Mayapan had formed a confederacy which probably resembled the one which Cortez found in the Valley of the City of Mexico. The entire country prospered under the rule of this joint government until about the year 1200 A. D. when Chac Xib Chac, the ruler of Chichen Itza, came to some sort of an understanding with the ruler of Izamal who was not a member of the confederacy. The city of Mayapan seems to have resented this and its ruler, Hunnac Ceel, with the aid of Mexican allies, defeated Chac Xib Chac and conquered the city of Chichen Itza. The ruins of Chichen Itza present considerable evidence of Nahua domination, so it is not unreasonable to believe that this city was ruled by the Mexican allies after its conquest. However, a still earlier Nahua occupation is also indicated.

We have five main sources for this information, all of which have been published and translated in Brinton's "Maya Chronicles" and which I will quote in so far as they relate to the event under discussion. The translations are partly my own but do not differ greatly from those of Brinton which I have followed wherever possible.

1. "9. Then were the katuns 11 Ahau, 9 Ahau, 6 Ahau. In 8 Ahau the governor of Chichen Itza was driven out on account of the plotting of Hunnac Ceel; and this happened to Chac Xib Chac of Chichen Itza on account of the plotting of Hunnac Ceel, the governor of Mayapan, the fortress. Four score years and ten years, it was in Tun 10 of 8 Ahau. That was the year in which it was depopulated by Ah Zinteyut Chan, with Tzuntecum, and Taxcal, and Pantemit, Xuchueuet and Ytzcuat, and Kakaltecat; these were the names of the seven men of Mayapan. 90.

"10. It was Katun 8 Ahau when they went to the fortress of Ah Ulmil the ruler on account of his banquet with Ah Itzmal Ulil, the ruler. Thirteen folds of katuns had passed when they were destroyed by Hunnac Ceel on account of the giving of the understanding."¹

2. "8. Ahau was when the governor of Chichen Itza was driven out by the conspiracy of Hunnac Ceel. Ah Zinteyut Chan, Tzuntecum, Taxcal, Pantemit, Xuchueuet, Ytzcoat, and Kakalcat were the names of the men. There were seven of them. It was because of the banquet with Ytzmal Ulil the ruler. There were thirteen folds of katuns when they were driven out by Hunnac Ceel on account of the giving of the understanding."²

3. "8 Ahau was when the Itza men were driven out of their homes for the second time by the conspiracy of Hunnac Ceel because of the banquet with Ah Itzmal. Thirteen folds of katuns had they settled there when the Itza men were driven out by Hunnac Ceel because of the giving of the understanding of those of Itza."³

4. "Thirteen katuns they ruled. Then the plottings were introduced by Hunnac Ceel, and the territories were destroyed. Then they went into the midst of the forests, into the midst of Xuluc Mul, so called."⁴

¹ Brinton 1882, p. 95.

² Codice Tizimin, fol. 21, reverse; Brinton 1882, p. 140.

³ Gordon 1913, p. 75; Brinton 1882, p. 155.

⁴ Gordon 1913, p. 78; Brinton 1882, p. 179.

5. "5 Ahau was when the land of Ah Itzmal Kinich Kakmo and Pop Hol Chan was destroyed by Hunnac Ceel."⁵

These are the only original sources bearing directly on these events which have as yet been published and translated, but Bishop Landa gives an account which explains to some extent the Mexican names mentioned in Chronicles 1 and 2: "The king Cocom began to covet riches and with this in view he negotiated with the garrisons of troops which the Mexican kings maintained in Tabasco and Xicalango to hand over to them the guard of the capital. In this way he brought Mexicans to Mayapan. He oppressed the poor and made slaves until the princes would have killed him but for their fear of the Mexicans."⁶

Examining some material less well known, we find an unpublished passage in the Chilam Balam of Tizimin which also refers to the event under discussion. It is preceded by the single sentence published and translated by Seler: "Eight Ahau was when it happened at Chichen as it was written down by the king of the people of Uxmal that Chac Xib Chac was trampled upon by Ah Nacxit Kukulcan."⁷ Seler goes on to show how this statement is borne out by testimony of the natives to the Spanish conquerors that the Maya religion was materially changed by one Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, who came from Mexico. A little farther on in the manuscript we find the following obscure passage which is only of value in the light of the translation from the Chumayel: "8 Ahau was when Ulel Ytzmal was enmeshed by deceit because Ulil the ruler had sinned. This was the founding of the katun in the 17th katun when came the prophecy of the rule of holy Ytzam Caan. There came forth Ahau Caan and Hapai Caan when Ah Ytzmal Ul, the ruler, was enmeshed by deceit, when the tribute of the son of holy Itzmal came. And then there came forth the lord of the katun when the rule of Itzmal occurred. Then there came an end to Hapai Caan in the misfortune of Ah

⁵ Gordon 1913, p. 79; Brinton 1882, p. 166.

⁶ Landa 1900, p. 288.

⁷ "uaxac ahau uchci tu chichen, ca tz'ibtabi u yahau ah uxmal ca tali u chekeb u pach chac xib chac, tumenel ah nacxit kukulcan." Seler 1902-1908, vol. 1, p. 676.

Itzmal Thul . . . and Chac Bolai and Chac Xib Chac to their great misfortune which was brought by Itzmal enmeshed by deceit by the sin of the ruler Canul. . . . Then it was learned about by Kukulcan. Then they cut the throats . . . of all the nobles who joined in the departure of Hapai Can. These were the subjects who bore the guilt of their ruler. Then began the attempt of Itzom Caan and then came the introduction of the sin of the ruler Canul. Then Ahau Caan came forth from the wells here of wicked Canul.”⁸

I have used the foregoing material only as an introduction to what I consider an interesting addition to Maya history and, in fact, the first new material published in many years which bears on the subject in question.

I might mention in passing that, as a sacrifice to the gods and in order to obtain prophecies for the coming year, it was customary to throw a number of victims at sunrise into the great cenote at Chichen Itza. At noon, if the gods were propitious, one of these would still remain alive. A rope was let down and the surviving victim was drawn up. The survivor delivered the message of the gods to the priests and rulers and received high honors from everyone. This striking custom is already well known, but that Hunnac Ceel, the mighty governor of Mayapan, began his career as such a victim is the startling fact which appears in the translation which follows:⁹

⁸ “lai u hetz’ katun uchi ichil uuclahunpis katun, u than u tepal kul ytzam caan hoki ahau caanil, y hapai caan ti tabtabi ah ytzmal ul ahau, ti uchi patan u mehen kul itzmal ca hoki u tah katun ti uchi tepal itzmal ca tz’oci hapai caan tan u numya ah itzmal thul ca uli kuch tan yol caan y chac bolai y chac xib chac ox numya u pixan tan u mansic u numyail uai itzmal tabtabi tumen u keban yahau canule, lei tah mehen hapai can lae, ca natabi tumen kukulcane ca xoti u cal u yioh u yubob tulacal yal u mehen cu pactic u luk hapai caan, lei ah cuchteob u cuchah u keban yahau catun hoppi u tumtic itzom caan ca tal yocol u keban yahau canul ca hoki ahau caan tu chichenob uai max canul ti hoki ahaui oxlahunte u cuch.”—Codice Tizimin, fol. 13 reverse and 14.

⁹ Gordon 1913, p. 3.

(p. 3)

"Ah Itzim Thul Chac was their commander at Ichcanzihoo. Uayom Chich¹⁰ was their priest at Ichcanzihoo, Canul, Yx Pop ti Balam.¹¹ Ucatul, Ah Kin Chable was their ruler at Cabal Xiu, their priest at Uxmal. The Chac was their commander. This was the priest.¹² Then Hapai Can was brought to Chem Chan. Here he arrived. Then he arrived at Kikil and at Uxmal. Chac Xib Chac was despoiled of his dragon,¹³ also Sac Xib Chac; and Ek Yuan Chac was also robbed of his dragon. Also they robbed Ix Sacbelis, so called, the grandmother of the Chacs. Ek Yuan Chac was their father. Hun Yuan Chac was their younger brother. Uooh Puc was his name. There was written a character on the palm of his hand; a character was written below his neck. One was written on the sole of his foot and one in the fist of the hand of Ah Uooh Puc.¹⁴ These Chacs were not gods. The only true God is our Lord Dios but they worshipped them at the command of the wise man of Mayapan, Ah Kin Coba, the priest in the fortress.

¹⁰ The meaning of Uayom Chich is uncertain. It seems to be a title, for on page 19 of the Chumayel I find the following sentence: "Ma yoltahob u bot patan Ah Uayom Chich: Ah Uayom Tunob Ah Uayom Siniltunob: Ah Uayom Balamob" which may be translated: "Those entitled Ah Uayom Chich, Ah Uayom Tun, Ah Uayom Siniltun, and Ah Uayom Balam did not wish to pay the tribute." *Uay* may mean room, bed, or couch; *chich* means bird; *siniltun* means level dressed stone; and *balam* means tiger, suggesting the tiger seats of Uxmal and Palenque. I suggest that these titles mean, "he who sits on the bird," "he who sits on the level dressed stone," and "he who sits on the tiger." This is confirmed by another phrase on p. 19 of the Chumayel for here we find: "tu uayob, tu poopob, tu tz'amob." *Poop* means mat and *tz'am* means throne, so *uay* must mean something very similar.

¹¹ The mat on the tiger.

¹² It is interesting to note that the office of Chac, apparently so important at this period, was filled at the time of the Spanish conquest by four old men who were merely laymen and assistants of the priest (Landa 1900).

¹³ The word "*can hel*" is translated in Beltran 1859, p. 228, as meaning dragon. The fact that *can* means serpent and *hel* is the root of the verb meaning to change suggests strongly that this was a serpent headdress similar to those on the bas-reliefs of the east chamber of the Temple of the Tigers at Chichen Itza.

¹⁴ "Among the twelve priests of Mayapan, one who was very wise married his only daughter to a young noble named Achchel. . . . The son-in-law who was well instructed in the science of his father-in-law wrote on the fleshy part of his arm certain letters of great importance in order to be esteemed and with this distinction settled on the coast and established himself at Ticoch where many followed him."—Landa 1900, p. 290.

(p. 4)

Tzulim Chan¹⁵ was at the west. Nauat was the guardian¹⁶ at the south gate. Couoh was the guardian at the east gate. Ah Ek was his companion. Ah Tapai Nok¹⁷ Cauich was the name of their governor, Hunnac Ceel, he who was cast [into the well] for Ah Mex Cuc.¹⁸

"Then they sought one flower. Then they sought the white mat. Then they sought two shreds of cloth. Then they sought the first fowl. Then they sought the mottled snail. Then they sought the white gourds called *homa*.

"Then they departed and arrived at Ppool where the remainder of the Itzas were swollen. Then they took for their mothers the women of Pool. Then they arrived at Ake where those of Ake were born. Ake was its name here according to their words. Then they arrived at Alaa. Alaa was its name here as they said. Then they came to Kanholaa. Then they came to Tixchel where their words and teachings were interpreted. Then they arrived at Ninum where the words and teachings of the Itzas were many. Then they arrived at Chikin Tz'onot. Their faces were to the west. Chikin Tz'onot was its name here as they said. Then they arrived at Tzucopp where they remained apart under the anona tree. Tzucopp was its name here as they said. They arrived at Cahcab where the Itzas stirred the honey. Then it

¹⁵ Tzulim Chan is mentioned in various prophecies as symbolizing some misfortune. Chakanputun, where the Itzas once lost their homes, is similarly mentioned (Gordon 1913, p. 73).

¹⁶ The word *ah canul* which I have translated as guardian is not in any of the dictionaries or vocabularies at my disposal. However its use in the phrase on page 67 of the Chumayel: "*cah lohil ti jesu-christo yah canul ca pixan*," "our redeemer Jesus Christ, the guardian of our souls," strongly indicates the meaning which I have given to it. Canul is the name of a province and a proper name as well. It is noteworthy that the Nahua guards of Mayapan retired to the province of Canul after the destruction of the city.

¹⁷ *Ah Tapai Nok* means "he with the ornamented mantle."

¹⁸ This name would appear to be that of a deified clan ancestor from the following passage on p. 86 of the Chumayel: "It was by them, the four lineages, who came from heaven, the sap of heaven, the juice of heaven, the governors, the rulers of the world, Cacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hochtun Poot, Ah Mex Cuc Chan." "*Heklay tumenelob—cantul chibalob—talob ti caan—ah kab caan: ytz caanob. u halach uinicob—yahautil cab—cacaal puc—hooltun balam—hochtun poot ah mex cuc chan.*"

was drunk by Xkoh Takin (Gold Mask). And the honey was stirred and Cabilneba by name drank it.

(p. 5)

Then they arrived at Kikil where they took dysentery. Kikil was its name here as they said. Then they arrived at Panabhaa where they dug for water. Then they came to Cucuchilhaa where they stopped at the deep water. Then they arrived at Yalsihon. Yalsihon was the name of the settlement here. Then they arrived at Xppitah, also a town. Then they arrived at Kancabtz'onot. They departed and then they arrived at Tz'ula. Then they came to Pibhaltz'onot. Then they came to Tahaac. That was its name. Then they came to Ticooh. Those of Cooh insulted them. Ticooh was its name here. Then they arrived at Tikal, where they shut themselves in. Tikal was its name here. Then they arrived at Timaax where they made knaves of themselves. Then they arrived at Buctzotz where they covered the hair of their heads. Buctzotz was its name here as they said. Then they arrived at Tz'itz'ontun where began the seizing of the land by a strong man.¹⁹ Tz'iholtun was its name here. Then they arrived at Yobain where the alligator bewitched them through their maternal ancestor, Ah Yamasi, who ruled at the shore of the sea. Then they arrived at Sinanche where the devil bewitched them. Sinanche was its name here. Then they arrived at Cahchac. Then they arrived at Tz'euc. Their companions contended with one another. Then arrived the maternal ancestor of their companion and they all appeased their wrath together. Tz'emul was its name here. Then they arrived at Kini with Xkil Ytzam Pech, Xtz'euc, their companion,

(p. 6)

and they arrived with Xkil Ytzam Pech,²⁰ their chief priest. Then they arrived at Baca where the water was poured out by them. It was Baca here as they said. Then they arrived at Sabacnail

¹⁹ The expression used here, "*chuc luum tz'üz'*," is a stock phrase of the prophecies. See Brinton 1882, p. 127.

²⁰ A later Ixkil Ytzam Pech is mentioned as the chief of Conkal at the time of the Spanish conquest in the Chronicle of Nakuk Pech. Brinton 1882, p. 219.

with their maternal ancestor, the first man, Ah Na. This was Chel Na, their maternal ancestor. Then they arrived at Benaá where they remembered their mother. Then they came to Yxil. Then they went to Chulul. Then they arrived at Chichi-caan. Then they went to Holtun Chable. Then they came to Ytzamna. Then they came to Chubulna. Then they arrived at Caucel where they were all cold. It was Caucel here as they said. Then they arrived at Ucu where they said "*Ya u cu.*" Then they went to Hunucma. Then they arrived at Kinchil. Then they went to Kana. Then they arrived at Tixpetoncah. Then they arrived at Sahab Balam. Then they arrived at Taccumchakan. Then they arrived at Tixbalche. Then they arrived at Uxmal, and they departed. Then they arrived at Tixyubak. Then they arrived at Munaa where their words were soft. Then they went to Oxlochhok. Then they went to Chacacal. Then they went to Xocneceh. There were deer there. Then they went to Ppustunich. Then they went to Pucnalchac. Then they went to Ppencuyut. Then they went to Ppaxueuet. Then they arrived at Tixaya. Then they arrived at Tistis by name. Then they arrived at Tuchican. Then they arrived at Tixmeuac.

(p. 7)

Then they arrived at Hunacthi. Then they arrived at . . . zel. Then they arrived at Tamusbulna. Then they arrived at Tixcan. Then they arrived at Lop. Then they arrived at Cheemiuan. Then they arrived at Oxcahuanka. Then they went to Sabacel-caan. Then they arrived at Cetelac.²¹ [These are] the names of whatever towns there were and the names of the wells, that it might be learned, where they passed in their march, to see whether this district was good; whether the dwelling places were suitable here. They set in order the name of the district according to the words of our Lord Dios. He it was who created

²¹ Note the numerous word plays in the preceding on the Maya place names of which the following are a few examples:

"Ca talob Tixchel ti chelhi u thanob ti chelhi u canobi"

"Catun kuchob Ninum ti numhi u thanob ti numhi u canobi"

"Ca kuchob Tikal ti u kalah ubaobi"

"Ca kuchob Buctzotz ti u bucinahob u tzotzel u pollobi"

the whole world and then also set it in order. They named the district, they named the wells, they named the region, they named the land, because no one had arrived here, here in Ucalpeten, when we arrived here.

"Subinche, Kaua, Cumcanul, Tiemtun where the stones descended, Siçal, Sacii, Titz'ooc where the prophecy of the katun was fulfilled, Timocon, Popola where the mat of the katun was spread out. Tipixoy, Uayumhaa, Sabacan, Tinum where they said little, Timacal, Popola where they set in order the mat of the katun."²²

There was Tixmacculum where they interrupted with words, Tz'ithaasbon, Kauil, Tixmex, Kochilla, Tixxocen, Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkas, Haaltunhaa, Kuxbila, Tz'itz'ilche, Ticool, Sital Pech, Chalante, where they appeased their anger, Ytzamthulil,²³ Tipikab where they were united in misery.

(p. 8)

. . . ansahcab, Tz'itz'omtun together with their maternal ancestor, Tichechoctz'-iitz', Tz'itz'holtun, Popola, to the south to Sinanche. Then they came to Muci, Sacnichtecheen, Sotz'il, here where they determined the katun together, Multumut was its name here, Mutul, Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun where they set up the first stone, Xocchelbohe, Sahcabhaa, Tzanlahcat, Human where there was noisy talk and noisy rumors about them, Chalamte, Pacaxua by name, here, as they said, Tekit where the remainder of the Itzas were scattered. Beside the well the iguana was swollen, Huh was placed here. Then they departed to Tz'otz'ile, Tiab, Bituncheen. Then came their entrance into Tipikal, that was the name of the well. Then they came out. Then they went to Pochuh, that was the name of the well where they roasted the iguana. Then they went to Mani where the prophecy was remembered

²² The *pop* or mat of the katun could mean either the coefficient of the day *Ahau* for which it was named or the unhappy events prophecied for that katun. In the same way the expressions *u cuch haab* and *u cuch katun* mean either the year and katun bearers or the miseries and toil of human existence. This text is worded much the same as the entry in the chronicle on p. 74 of the Chumayel which is also printed in Brinton 1882, p. 153, "*Oxlahun Ahau tzolci pop*" which means that the day 13 Ahau ending that katun was recorded in due order.

²³ Note the name of this town in connection with the Ah Itzim Thul Chac who was mentioned at the beginning of our text.

somewhat by them. Then they arrived at Titz'aan. Three days they were submerged.²⁴ Then they went to Ticul, Sacuumcheen, Tixtohilcheen where their minds were tranquilized. Then they went to Balamkin, the region of the priests, Cheenchomac, Sacnic-teeltz'onot, Tiyaxcab, Uman, Oxcum, Sanhil, Ichcansihoo, Ti-noh-naa-noh-pat, Poychena, Chulul. Then they arrived at Titzluum Cumkal²⁵ where the highest point of the region was situated, Siepach, Yaxkukul,

(p. 9)

Tixkokob, Tixueue, Tixueue was the name of the well here, Uhumtal where one part came out, Tixcanimacal, Tixaan, Yumxul where they respected their father-in-law, Holtun Ake, Acanqueh, Tichahil, great Mayapan, the fortress, Yokolhaa. Then they went to Nabula, Tixmucuy, Tixkanhub, Tz'oyila. Then they arrived at Tisip. Tisip they said, Tisip they taught.²⁶

Then began the establishment of the country and of the rulers. There was the priest at Paloncab. There was the priest at Mutupul, as it was named. The priest at Paloncab was Ah May. The priest at Mutupul was Ah Canul, Uayom Chich, a stammerer as well, Yucatun Ah Chable, Ah Ichcansihoo, Holtun Balam, his son. He it was who took the plain of Yaxum. Then arrived the companions of the ruler. These were the friends of the ruler in the reign of Tun 11 Ahau as it was called. Then they founded the district and established the country. Then they settled Ichcansihoo. Then came those of Holtun Ake; and then came those of Sabacna. Then arrived the rulers together. These were of Sabacna, the head men, the leaders. Then they assembled at Ichcanziho. Here was the *ix pop ti balam* during the reign of Holtun Balam,

(p. 10)

during the reign of. . . . This was the head man . . . Xiu,

²⁴ This phrase, "*ox kin tz'amanobi*," recalls the expression "*ca kin tz'am, ox kin tz'am*" on p. 44 of the Chumayel, immediately following the creation story translated in Martinez 1912, pp. 14-15.

²⁵ Cumkal is called the head of the district and Mani the heart of the land on p. 25 of the Chumayel.

²⁶ "*Sip u than, sip u can*" is a stereotyped phrase of the prophecies and means literally "error was their talk, error was their teaching."

Tloual also. Chacte was the ruler. Chacte was the land where Teppanquis, their priest, seized the government. This was in Tabi. There was Ah Ppiste. He measured their land but Lubte was the land where they stopped, Uuclubcab. There was Ah May; but Ah Accunte established the corners of their land. There was Miscit Ahau who cleaned up the land; but the land was established by them. There was Hoyahelcab. It was here that they came to the use of their reason. They considered the ruler; they considered the use of their judgment.²⁷

"Then began the introduction of tribute. Tikuch was where the arrival of the tribute of the four men occurred. 11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the tribute was handled. At Cetelac it was given over. And then the tribute of Holtun Zuiva²⁸ came. It was at Cetelac where they agreed in their opinions. 13 Ahau was the katun when the governors received the tribute. Then began their reign. Then they began to be served. Then began the arrival of those who were thrown [into the well]. Then they began to cast them into the well in order that their prophecy might be heard by the ruler. Their prophecy did not come. There was Cauich Hunac Ceel. Cauich was the name of the man who raised his head at the mouth of the well

(*p. 11*)

at the south.²⁹ Then he was taken up and then came forth the declaration of the prophecy. Then began the prophecy. Then began the declaring of the ruler. Then he was set in the place of the rulers by them. Then began the declaring of the governor.

²⁷ The obscure passage consisting of the last few lines is composed largely of plays upon words. The story is told in such phraseology that the names of personages and places on one hand and of the events themselves on the other will be homonyms. The use of hieroglyphic writing would naturally create such a literary style and it is interesting to note the extent to which it is preserved in certain parts of the present text.

²⁸ Zuiva is mentioned in the Chronicle of the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani as the country to the west from which the Tutul Xius came to Yucatan (Brinton 1882, p. 95). Seler locates it in Tabasco, Xicalanco, or Coatzacoalco (Seler 1902-1908, vol. III, p. 575). Holtun Zuiva means the Cave Zuiva. In this text it appears to symbolize the Nahuatl origin of the ruling powers at the time.

²⁹ The stone platform beside the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itza, from which the victims were cast into the well, is on the south side.

He was not ruler. His title was only Ah Mex Cuc. Then the man who was cast [into the well] for Ah Mex Cuc was declared ruler. The eagle was his throne. Then he was sought on the hill. Then began the taking of the prophecy (or command) of this ruler. After that it was declared. Then began the setting up of the house on high for the ruler. Then began the construction of the stairway. Then he was set in the house on high in 13 Ahau, the sixth reign. Then began the fulfillment of the reign, of the setting up of Ah Mex Cuc near Baca. Then he was established. Then began his being respected as a lord.³⁰ Then they began to obey him. Then he was served there at Chichen. Chichen Ytzam was its name because the Itzas were there. Then he took away the stones of the district, the stones of the planted fields, the landmarks of the Itzas. They were taken away [and thrown] into the water. Then began the introduction of misery into Chichen Itza. Then our god departed toward the east with Ah Kin Coba. Katun 8 Ahau came. 8 Ahau was the name of the katun when the reign came to pass. Then the change of the katun was declared and the change of the ruler was declared."

TEXT

(*Chumayel* p. 3.)

"Ah Itz: tzim thul chac: u mektanob; yhcansihoo: uayom chich: chich yah kinob: yhcansihoo; canul: yx pop ti balam: u catulah kin chable: u yahauob; cabal xiu: yah kinob: uxmäl chac u mektanob: lay yah kin cuchi: ca ulsabi: hapai can = tu chem chan: lay huli: ca uchi kikil pak: te uxmäl; tii, ca colabi. u cangel. chac xib·chace: sac xib chac: colabi u cangel: u cangel ix. ek yuan chac: colabi.xan: yx sacbelix: u kaba u chichob: chac ek yuuan chac: u yumob: hun yuuan chac:u thupilob: uooh: puc u kaba = lay tz'ibtabi: uooh tu tan u kab: ca tz'ibtabi uooh. yalan u cal: ca tz'ibtabi: tu tan yoc: ca tz'ibtabi: ychil u ppuc u kab ti ah uooh pucil: ma kui: chaccob: = g:halili hahal ku ca yumil ti Diose: u kulob tu yitz'atil: mayapan: ah kin coba:

³⁰ I have translated *yum* as lord, *halach uinic* as governor, and *ahau* as ruler, although the nature of the authority exercised by each is most uncertain.

(p. 4)

ah kinte ych: paa:e. tzulim chan:ti chikin: Nauat. yahc[anu]l:
 u uol pa ti nohole: Couoh: yah canul: u uol pa til lakin: ah ek:
 u lak: he yahauobe. ah tapai nok cauich: u kaba u halach
 uinicob: hunnac ceel: u pulbeen: ah mex cuci: ca u katah huntulis
 Nichte: ca u katah: sac pop: ca u katah: cappel u tan, nok: ca u
 katah: yax ulum: ca u katah: ule: ca u katah: sac homaob: ti
 likulob ca kuchob: ppoole: ti ppolhob: yala ah ytzai: ti tun u naa-
 intahob yx ppoli: ca kuchob Ake: ti sihob: tix Akei: Ake u kaba
 uaye: cu thanob: catun kuchob Alaa: alaa: u kaba uaye: cu
 thanob ca talob: kanholaa. ca talob: tixchel: ti chelhi: u thanobi:
 ti chelhi: u canobi: catun kuchob: Ninum: ti Numhi: u thano-
 bi: ti numhi:u canobi: ah ytzaobi = catun kuchob: chikin tz'onot:
 ti chikintanhi u uichob: chikin tz'onot u kaba uaye:cu thanob:
 catun kuchob: tzuc:oopp: ti u tzucah ubaobi: yalan: opi: tzucop:
 u kaba uaye: cu thanob: catun kuchob cahcab: ti u huytah cab.
 ytzai: ca uki tumenel xkoh takin: ca huytabi:ti cab: ca yukah:
 cabilneba: u kaba: ca kuchob

(p. 5)

kikil: ti u canahob: kiknaki: kikil u kaba uaye: cu thanob: ca
 kuchob: panabhaa: ti u panahob hai: ca talob: cucuchil: haa:
 u cuchob tu tamil haai: ca kuchob: yalsihon: yalsihon u kaba
 uaye: cahlic cah = ca kuchob: xppitah: cah xan: catun kuchob:
 kancab: tz'onot: ti likulob: ca kuchob: tz'ula caix tal ob: pibhaltz'-
 onot: catun kuchob: tah: aac:: u kaba: ca tal ob: t Cooh: u kaba:
 ti u manahob: than coohi: ti u manahob: cani: ticoh u kaba
 uaye: ca kuchob: tikal: ti u kalah: ubaobi: tikal u kaba uaye: ca
 talob: timax: ti u maaxtah uba katunobi: ca kuchob buctzotz:
 ti u bucinahob u tzotzel u pollobi: buctzotz u kaba uaye cu
 thanob = ca kuchob:tz'itz'ontun: ti hoppob: chuc lum tz'itz'i:
 tz'iholtun u kaba uaye: ca kuchob: yobain: ti u uayintahob ayini:
 tumen u mamobi: ah yamasi: g: yahaulil tu chi kaknab: ca
 kuchob: sinanche: ti u uayintahob cicin sinanche u kaba uaye:
 ca kuchob ti cahchac: ca cuchob: tz'euc: pisilba: u cahob u lakob
 ca kuchob: u mamob: u lak: ti multzemlah yolobi tz'emul u kaba
 uaye: ca kuchob: kini: yicnal xkil ytzam pech: xtz'euc: u lakob ca

(p. 6)

kuchob icnal.xkil. ytzam pech: yah [a]lukiniob: catun kuchob:
 Baca: ti bacchahi: haa tiobi: Baca: uaye: cu thanob: catunkuchob:
 Sabacnail: yicnal u mamob: u chun uinicil ah Nae: lay chelnae:
 u mamob: catun kuchob: te Benaee: tikahi: u naa tiobi: ca talob:
 yxil: catun binob: chulul: ca kuchob chichicaan: catun binob
 holtun chable: ca talob. ytzamna: ca talob. chubulna: ca kuchob:
 caucel: ti ceelchahobi caucel: uaye cuthanob: catunkuchob: ucu:
 ti yalahob: ya u cu: ca binob: hunuc ma: ca kuchobkinchil:
 cabinob: kana: ca kuchob: tixpetoncah: ca kuchob sahab balam:
 ca kuchob tahcumchakan: ca kuchob: tixbalche: ca kuchob:
 uxmäl: ti tun likulob ca kuchob: tixyubak: ca kuchob Munaa:
 ti munhi: u thanob: ti munhi u canobi: ca binob oxlochhok: ca
 binob chacakal. ca binob. xocenech: ceh u uayob ca kuchobi:
 ca binob ppustunich. ca binob pucnalchac: ca binob ppencuyut:
 ca binob: ppaxueuet: ca kuchob tixaya: ca kuchob: tistis: u
 kaba: ca kuchob tu chican: ca kuchob tixmeuac

(p. 7)

ca kuchob hunacthi: cakuch . . . azal: ca kuchob: tamusbulna:
 ca kuchob: tixcan: ca kuchob: lop: ca kuchob: cheemiuan: ca
 kuchob: oxcahuanka: ca binob: sabacelcaan: ca kuchob: cetelac:
 u kaba cah: macalob: y u kaba cheenob: ca utzac yoheltaual tux
 manob: tan u ximbal ticob: yilaob: ua utz: lay peten: ua u nahma
 cahtalob: uay lae: tzol peten u kaba tu thanob: ca yumil ti
 Ds lay tzol peten. lay sihes yokolcab tulacal: layx tzol xan: heob
 lae kabansah peten. u cahob: kabansah cheen u cahob: kabansah
 cacab. u cahob kabansah luum-u cahob; tumen mamac kuchuc.
 uaye: uayi ucalpeten ca kuchon uay lae:

“Subinche: kaua: cumcanul: tiemtun ti: emob ti tuni: siçal:
 sacii: ti tz'ooc: ti tz'ooc u than katuni: ti mocon: popola: ti hay
 u pop katuni:—tipixoy: uayumhaa: sabacan: ti num: ti numchi
 thantabobi: ti macal: popola: ti u tzolahob u pop katuni: tix-
 macculum: ti u macahob thani: tz'ithaasbonkauil: tixmex: ko-
 chilla: tix xocen: chunpak: pibahul: tun kaas: haaltunhaa: kuxbila:
 tz'itz'ilche: ticool: sitilpech: chalamte: ti halhi yolobi: ytzamthuil:
 ti pakab ti paktehobi:

(p. 8)

tī ya . . . ansahcab: tz'itz'omtun: yetun u mamob: tichechoctz'-
iitz': tz'itz'holtun: popola: tu nohol sinanche: ca tal mucī: sac
nicte cheen: sotz'il: uay tumultumtahob katune. multumut u
kaba: uay mutupule: muxipip: ake: hoctun: ti cumlahob tu chun
tuni: xocchelbohe: sahcabhaa: tzanlahcat: human: ti humni than
yokolobi: ti humni u pectzilobi: chalamte: pacaxua: u kaba uaye:
cu thanob: tekī ti kit yala ytzaobi: yokolcheen ppuppulni huh:
huh u uayob cahokobi: tz'otz'ile: tiab: bituncheen: uchci yocolob
tipikal: ukaba cheen: uchci u tippilob: ca binob poc huh: ukaba-
cheen: uchci u pocicob huh: ca binob: Manii: ti mankahi thantiobi:
ca kuchob titz'aan ox kin tz'amannobi: ca bin ticul: sacuumcheen:
tixtohilcheen: ti tohni: yolobi: cabinob Balam kin: u petennil ah
kinob: cheenchomac: sac nicteel tz'onot: tiyaxcab: uman: oxcum:
sanhil: yhcansihoo: ti-noh-naa-noh-pat: poychena: chulul: ca
kuchob tu titzluum cumkal: ti cumlah u titz peteni: siepach:
yaxkukul:

(p. 9)

tixkokob: cuca: . . . xan: ekolekol: u kaba ch . . . tixueue:
tix ueue u kaba cheen uaye: u humtal tal hun hatzi: tix kanimacal:
ti xaan: yumxul: uchci u yumtic u haan: holtun ake: acanqueh:
ticooh: ti chahil. ti chac mayapan: ych paa: yokol haa: ca binob:
Nabula: tixmucuy: tixkanhube: tz'oyila: ca kuchob tisip: ti sip u
thanobi: ti sip u canobi: ca hopi : u hetz' luumob. yahauobi: ti
yanah yah kin paloncabi: heklay yah kinobe mutupul u kaba:
he ah kin paloncabe: ah may: he ah kin mutupule: ah canul:
uayom chich ix xan nunili xan: yucatun ah chable: ah yhcansihoo:
holtun Balam: u mehen: lay u chaah yx yaxum chakane: ti tun
kuchi: u lak ahauobi: laobi ahau u nup u thanobe: ti yahaulilob
ti buluc ahau tun: u kaba cuchi: ca u hetz'ah cabobi: caix ti hetz'-
luumnahobi: caix cahlahobi: ychcaansihoo: ca emob ah holtun
Ake: ca emob ah sabacnailob: catun kuchob yetun Ahaulilob:
he ah sabacnaile: u chun uinicil: ah na: catun u molah ubaob te
ychcansihoo: ti yan yx pop ti balam. tilic yahaulili: holtun balam:
(p. 10)

. . . tili yahaulil . . . tz'oy lay u chun uinicil. copoe . . . xiu
ix tloual xan: chacte ahau chacte u lumil u chuc yahaulilob:

teppanquis: yah kinob: lay ych tabi lae: lay ah ppiste: ppis u lumilobe: hetun: lubte u lumil u luubobe: uuc lub cab: ah may hetun: accunte: u xukil: u luumob: ah accunte: u xukil ah mis Miste u luumob lay miscit ahaue: hetun hetz'ci cab tiobe: lay hoyahel cabe: hetunte yahal cab tiobe: tumte ahau: tumte yahal-cab: tiobe: ca hoppi yocol patan tiobe: tu chichen: ti kuch uchci. u kuchul u patan: cantul uinicobe: buluc ahau. u kaba u katunil: cuchi: ti baaxlahi patante. cetelace: u pakte: uchi yanile: catun emi u patan holtun suhuyva te: cetel ace: ti cethi u thanobi oxlahun ahau u katunil cuchi: ti u kamahob patan halach uinicobi: cahopi u tepallobi: ca hoppi ti yahaulilobi: ca hoppi u tanlabalob: ca hoppi u kuchul u pululteob: ca hoppi u pulicob ych cheen: ca uyabac u thanob tumenel yahaulili: ma hul u thanob lay cauich hun hunah ceele: lay cauich u kaba uinicile: ti cuthi cal tu hol cheen

(p. 11)

cheen: ti nohol catun bini chabil catun hoki yalab u than: ca hopp u chabal u than: ca tz'uni u than: ca hoppi yalabal: ahauil: ca culhij: ta cuchil ahauuob: tumenob. ca hoppi yalabal halach uinicil: ma ahau cuchij = chen u bel ah mex cuc: ca ix alabi ahau u pulben: ah mex cuc = coot bin u Nac cabin caxtaui tu uitzil: ca bin: tz'uni: u chabal u than lay ahau: la: citun yalabal: catun hoppi: u nacsabal: canalnaa: ti ti ahaulil: ca hoppi: u pakal: yebal: catun culhi ti canalna: ychil oxlahun: Ahau uactepal. ca tz'uni: u kuchul u yabil u than u kin: u. ua ah mex cuc: u kaba ca u pulal Natz'an baca u kin ah mex cuuc ci: ca yetz'cuntabi: ca hoppi u yumintauali: ca hoppi u tzicile: tu kaba ah mex cuuc: catun tzici catun tanlabi. te tu chicheene: chicheen ytzam. u kaba = tumen ti bin ytza ca u lukah u tunil cabi: u tunil uiil cuch ytzam: luk cabin ychil haa: catun hoppi yocol numya. te chichen ytzae: catun bini te likine: ca ku yicnal ah kin cob[a] talel u cah uaxac Ahau katun cuchi uaxac ahau u kaba katun: uchci u tepal catun hoki u hel katun catun hoki u hel yahauob: . . .

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